WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Arbitration Award Won By Local 574

Minneapolis Union Forces Wage Increases; Triumphs In Minor Strikes

We reprint the following from the October 10th **Organizer,** official weekly of General Drivers Union Local 574, Minneapolis:

"The completion of arbitration with the employers in the transfer industry has brought an agreement from all companies involved to increase the minimum rates of pay.

"The drivers are to receive not less than 52½ cents per hour from Sept. 15, 1934, to May 31, 1935, and not less than 55 cents per hour from June 1, 1935, to May 31, 1936.

"Helpers, platform workers, and inside workers are to receive not less than 42½ cents per hour from Sept. 15, 1934, to May 31, 1935, and not less than 45 cents per hour from June 1, 1935, to May 31, 1936.

"All members of Local 574 working in the transfer industry should now be receiving pay per the above schedule and they should receive back pay for the time worked at the old wage rate since Sept. 15, 1934. Report any violations of this to union headquarters.

"There shall be no reduction in wage rates which are in excess of the above minimum. In a few concerns it has been the past practice to pay some workers more than the newly established wage minimums. These wage rates are not to be reduced. Violations of this rule should be reported immediately.

Time and a Third for Overtime

"The arbitration board checked carefully the code provisions for hours and overtime wages and agreed unanimously that the code provided for overtime payment at the rate of time and one-third after eight hours in any one day and for all Sundays and legal holidays.

"The exact wording of the amendment to paragraph 8 in the strike settlement of August 21, 1934, follows:

" 'Each firm agrees to pay effective September 15, 1934, and until the 31st day of May, 1935, not less than 52½c per hour to truck drivers, and not less than 42½c per hour to helpers, platform workers and inside workers as defined in the August 21, 1934 agreement; and to pay for a period of one year from June 1, 1935, until May 31, 1936, not less than 55c per hour to truck drivers and not less than 45c per hour to helpers, platform workers and inside workers.

" 'The hours and overtime rates provided by the respective codes shall apply. In figuring overtime, it shall be based on rate of wage covered by this agreement.

" 'It is understood that the minimum wages herein specified do not apply to boys temporarily employed on small package delivery trucks.

"It is further understood that no wage rates in excess of the minimums above specified will be reduced.' "

The strike settlement set a minimum wage of 50 cents for truck drivers and 40 cents for helpers, with arbitration to follow on demand of the union for higher wages. This clause the Stalinists denounced for many "reasons". One was that the union had been demanding 52½-42½ cents hourly, since accepting the Haas-Dunnigan proposals, rejected by the bosses. Secondly, the Stalinists (whose sole functioning union, the furriers, is subject to the rulings of an arbitration board with an "impartial" chairman) objected "in principle" to arbitration of any sort!

Another Bone to Chew On

No doubt we will now read all about this new "defeat" in the **Daily Worker.**

Perhaps the editor will add the story of the unions "defeat" two weeks ago at the Ready-Mixed Concrete Co. Here all the drivers were dissatisfied because the company made them report at 7:30 A.M., only to waste half an hour or more (unpaid) before loading. Furthermore, three active strikers were kept off their jobs, although men hired during the strike were still at work. When the company refused to negotiate, the union called a strike of Ready Mixed drivers, and set up banners.

In response to 574's appeal, the building trades workers on a big construction job refused to accept delivery from scab drivers. The strike was settled on the day it was called. The 7:30 rule was abolished and remains abolished; the three strikers were put back on the job with seniority rights.

Poincare Dead; Slew Millions

Raymond Poincare, war-time President of France, who retired from active politics in 1931, died last week. The workers of France, and the world over will not mourn the passing of this infamous leader of the capitalists of France. As President of the Third Republic from 1913 to 1920, after a long career of reactionary statesmanship dating from the Dreyfuss affair, Poincare carried out the mandate for war given him by the French bourgeoisie in 1914. It was he who directed the pact with the Czar, cementing the first big alliance of the Allies. The workers of today mourn not the death of Poincare, but the workers of yesterday who died as the human arsenal of French imperialism.

Stretch-Out Okayed by New 'Order'

President Roosevelt has affixed his seal to the Winant report which tricked the textile strikers back to work on the miserable slave conditions they had fought and bled to change.

Over the signature of Franklin D. Roosevelt appears the "Order for the Textile Work Assignment Boards". Translated into simple English this high sounding name means research, investigation, inquiry, study, but do nothing.

This principal purpose of this new board, according to the Presidential order, is to study the "stretch-out" and maintain a balance between the "usage of manpower and machinery in the cotton, silk and wool textile industries" and further according to point (2) that no change in work assignments be made over that of Sept. 21, 1934 "'in order to provide opportunity to develop a sound method and an adequate organization. . ."

This is the "great victory" hailed by Gorman. And for this the textile workers braved the National Guards and the deputies, went to concentration camps, sacrificed 15 of their best fighters and then returned — or staggered — back to work.

The Old Stretch-Out Remains

The two major demands of the textile battle which struck at the roots of the misery of the mill workers—the 30 hour week and union recognition—were scuttled by the Roosevelt board with the consent and connivance of the leaders of the union. In its stead the Board munificently offered to study the stretch-out. Here are the results: the unbearable speed-up prior to Sept. 21 is to remain unaltered.

However "pleasing" this may sound to the ears of the mill operatives, who went out on a general strike to abolish the stretch-out of

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Terror Rules As Spanish Revolt Ends

United Defense Action of World Proletariat Sole Hope of Rebels

The general strike and the armed insurrection that swept over Spain during the past two weeks as a mass protest movement against the entrance of three Fascist ministries of the Popular Action party, and which in some sections took on the character of an armed struggle for power on the part of the workers, is now virtually over. In a few localities, however, especially in the mountainous regions of Asturias where the miners have fortified a number of villages and mining camps, the workers are still holding their own valiantly against the armed forces of the reaction. The death list in the province of Asturias now runs into many hundreds while the casualties nationally range in the thousands.

Many of the leaders of the revolt have undergone military trials and a number of death sentences have been decreed. Hundreds if not thousands of rebels are now in prison awaiting trial and in some cases execution. Among these prisoners are to be found Francisco Largo Caballero, president of the Socialist party, Luis Companys, ex-president of the Catalonian Generalidad, Manuel Azana, first Provisional President of the Republic, and Angel Pestana, ex-Syndicalist leader who recently passed over into the left republican camp with his ill-starred "Syndicalist Party" The few military officers who supported the revolt—and in Catalonia there were many—have also been court martialled and sentenced to death.

In its efforts to smash the resistance of the workers, the Fascist elements in the government will do their utmost to create a genuine reign of terror against the whole labor movement preparatory to their final effort to seize the whole power for themselves and set up an open Fascist dictatorship. The present coalition government of Radicals, Agrarians and Fascists is already showing signs of weakness, however, as is indicated by the unwillingness to satisfy fully the blood-thirst of the Fascists.

According to latest reports, the Cabinet has decided to refer the death sentences already passed by the Military Tribunals, to the Supreme Court for reconsideration.

In this breathing space, that can be won only by means of continued struggles, the working class can reorganize and realign its forces, build its national united front organization and prepare for the coming struggles which are bound to be decisive. The workers of all countries must show their solidarity with their comrades in Spain in their present difficulties.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

Suicide Strike Inspires New Open Battle

The 1,200 Hungarian coal miners of Pecs, Hungary, whose grim "suicide strike" sent shivers down the capitalist spine, are now threatening to strike again—this time along sounder militant lines.

They charge that they were "tricked" into settlement. The entire community seethes with resentment and unrest. Troops are still surrounding the village, in their vain effort to overawe workers already resigned to immediate death in preference to slow starvation.

"We were crazed with hunger," spokesmen for the miners said. "We did not know what we were agreeing to."

$2 a Week

For more than 100 hours, the miners remained underground, without food or water, threatening mass suicide if their demands were not granted. They were earning $2 a week. They were demanding $3.50.

In vain government agents pleaded with them to return to the surface. In vain their own union leaders, government flunkies for the most part, tried to intercede. The miners stationed five stalwarts at the entrance, armed with pickaxes, to guard against being "rescued". Troops dared not enter for of being saughtered by the infuriated workers. The food that was lowered was flung back.

A more startling revelation of the desperation to which capitalism has driven its slaves can not be imagined. The labor-crushing dictatorship of Geomboes, fearful of the world scandal that would result from the mass suicide, prevailed at length upon the mine-barons, controlled largely by British and French capital, to offer a settlement.

Many Driven Insane

The terms of the settlement granted the men three days work a week, and a consequent $3 weekly pay, with Christmas bonuses. The men accepted, and were removed from the mine many of them in stretchers, some driven insane by their experiences, others to weak to be moved.

They had gained only a partial victory, but they had driven their point into every capitalist stronghold in the world.

For never before in history has a working class group undertaken such extraordinary measures to better its conditions. Strikers have fought the police, the armed forces of the State, have bared breasts to bayonets; women have brought suckling babes with them to the picket lines. The Molly Maguires, syndicalists and anarchists have used the most desperate forms of terror as their weapon in the class war. But never before have workers so dramatically announced their willingness at once to die rather than face slow death by starvation.

Capitalism Must Go!

Woe to a civilization that can drive masses of men to such extremities! It is a festering sore. It must, it will be obliterated!

Never by suicide! If workers are to sacrifice themselves in the struggle for better living conditions, let them go down fighting their enemies, as did their Austrian brothers. Let them take their toll of the enemy before they go down. Let their masters, too, get a taste of what desperation means.

It was not the death of the self-imprisoned miners that the Goemboes government feared, but rather the anger it would inspire in an aroused working class. Not the action that was taken, but what might follow.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the miners have helped to drive their point home. They have taught how little life is worth under capitalism.

They have said to the workers of the world: "You need not starve. It is better to die!"

And in many a country in the world today, bourgeois leaders are shivering in their boots, lest this lesson be taken to heart, and improved upon. Lest the amendment be added, as it has been added, by an infuriated workingclass.

"It is better to die fighting!"

Government Shows Colors InHoudeCase

Attorney GeneralDecision Reveals N.R.A. Promises To Be Soap Bubbles

The decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of the Houde Engineering Corporation, hailed by the A. F. of L. fake leadership as "epochal", is now to be ditched by the Roosevelt administration.

It was a trifle too epochal!

The Board had decided that the Houde Corp. had lost its right to the Blue Eagle by refusing to grant its employes the right to organize for collective bargaining. But the Houde Corp. grasped the Blue Eagle firmly by the neck and refused to surrender it.

The NRA Board had selected the Houde case as one of the strongest cases of open violation of Section 7a. In the Houde plant, the United Automobile Workers Union had secured a decisive majority of the workers as against the company union. But the corporation refused, nevertheless, to recognize the A. F. of L. organization, as representing its employes, and continued to deal with its own company union.

Getting Away With Murder!

This was clearly flouting the proviso in Section 7A of majority rule, and it was generally expected that the Government would sue for return of the Blue Eagle.

The Department of Justice, however, refuses to take the case to court, and Attorney-General Cummings has announced that, in his opinion, the Government has no case.

This announcement has been taken lying down by the NRA labor boys who are already beginning to crawl from their previous bold and blustering attiude.

For if anything is certain, it is that Attorney General Cummings would not have dared so openly to snub the Labor Board if he were not sure of President Roosevelt's silent consent.

Only one recourse remains now for the automobile workers of the Houde plant, and that is: Strike!

Only through their own strength and power can they force recognition, as did the truck drivers of Minneapolis, with or without the Labor Board and its various intermediaries.

But President Bill Green, of the A. F. of L., who denounces the action of the Houde Corporation as a "challenge to the Government", remains silent when the Government refuses to accept the challenge.

This faker is even now planning his most colossal sellout; attempting even now to persuade the A. F. of L. unions to engage in a one-sided "industrial truce", which as always will be binding only to the workers.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE!

Price of Militant 3 Cents on Nov. 1st

On November 1st the price of the **Militant** will be raised from two to three cents. Increased expenses oblige us to take this step. The original price reduction was made in order to boost the circulation of the paper. Appreciable gains have been made in this direction. Hundreds of new readers have been obtained and many workers have become acquainted with our organization for the first time through the **Militant.** To accomplish this end we went to considerable sacrifice, printing the paper at a deficit. This is no longer possible. In the meantime the **Militant** has become more popular and we believe that our circulation builders will be at no disadvantage by the rise in price.

9 Negro Boys Need United Movement

The skepticism expressed last week by the **Militant** as to the validity of Samuel S. Leibowitz's claims to represent Clarence Norris and Haywood Patterson, two of the Scottsboro boys, has been justified by subsequent developments.

Leibowitz, who has been a consistent enemy of the idea of a mass defense campaign, recently dealt the organized Scottsboro defense movement what he thought would be a death blow. After walking out on the I.L.D. at a crucial moment, a development predicted more than eighteen months ago by the Communist League, Leibowitz, backed by a handful of Negro parsons, announced that the I.L.D. had been discharged from the case and that he would represent the boys in their appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

It now appears that his claims were entirely unjustified. The I.L.D. at any rate, has printed in the **Daily Worker** copies of letters from the two boys and their parents, which place the future of the case in the I.L.D.'s hands rather than in Leibowitz.'s

It would have been a grave mistake, indeed, had the boys, misled by Leibowitz's false promises, put their lives in his hands. This "mouthpiece" of New York gangsterdom is such a fine "friend" of the boys that in the Decatur, Alabama, courtroom itself he declared **himself in favor of lynching in principle,** being opposed to it in this case only because he believes the boys to be innocent of the crime of rape.

The I.L.D. remains the official representative of the Scottsboro boys, and all who are aware of Leibowitz's character and intentions will be glad to learn that he is not going to represent the innocent youths.

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Left Wing is Crucial Issue In A. F. of L.

Forward Step of Industrial Unions Is Checked by Reactionary Leaders

The American Federation of Labor Convention, just concluded, was marked by the conflicting issues running through all of its sessions. At times they rose to considerable heights and compelled the inauguration of progressive steps despite all reluctance and misgivings, only to be smothered again when meeting the still impregnable barriers of reaction. Conflicting forces were at work. Of course, this was not yet expressed in a conscious left wing, or progressive wing, giving battle to the reactionary hierarchy in control of its whole craft union structure, but rather expressed in the fact that this hierarchy faced at every step the shadow of their powerful home constituency of an awakening mass, of a militant rank and file showing signs of restlessness and rebellion.

The latter had some of its own representatives in the convention halls. They came mainly from the newly organized federal unions in the mass production industries. They did not dispose of hundreds of votes, as did the officials from the international unions: they were neither glib-tongued masters of demagogy nor trained in parliamentary convention maneuvres, but their presence served as a constant reminder hounding the officialdom with the spectre of the powerful home constituency.

Dilemma of Labor Skates

On the one side of the conflicting issues was the impact from the head-on attacks throughout the country against union organization and against the recent strikes by the employers thoroughly alarmed by the working class militancy displayed. To the A. F. of L. officialdom it presented a dilemma. It is firmly wedded to capitalism in theory and in practice, but it faced at the same time the enormous pressuref rom the awakening rank and file workers demanding more militant policies and more militant methods to meet the attacks.

This leadership itself, united by reactionary ideology, reflected the conflicting issues in its attempt to chart the course of the trade union movement for the immediate future. Some of the officials sponsored progressive moves of one character while others would take a like position on other issues. In this they expressed their bewilderment aroused by the new conditions they find themselves in. But all of them combined in reactionary utterances and maneuvers to throw up new barriers to stem the tide of developing labor militancy.

The Industrial Union Issue

Undoubtedly the outstanding focus of these conflicting issues at the A. F. of L. convention is represented in the definitely progressive move toward industrial unionism. Contrasted to this, however, was the just as decidedly reactionary jurisdictional dispute in the Building Trades Department. The step toward industrial unionism finally agreed upon after long debate in the resolutions committee and adopted by an overwhelming convention majority will have far-reaching significance in all future A. F. of L. developments. That should by no means be minimized. It is true that so far the industrial union basis is to cover only the unions in the automobile, aluminum, and cement industries. It is true also that it is explicitly declared that there is to be no interference with the craft union prerogatives elsewhere. Nevertheless this step definitely marks the beginning of a change of the A. F. of L. from a craft union to an industrial union-basis.

It is the first serious sign of its attempt to adjust itself to the requirements imposed by the problems of unionization under modern industrial conditions, at least insofar as organizational form is concerned. This is the one most important sign of progress within the main trade union body which is set into motion by the changes in the national economy of the country, the regroupment of class forces which is taking place and the wide spread working class awakening, organization and militancy.

The Scramble for Spoils

On the other side of the picture is the intense and bitter jurisdictional dispute in the Building Trades Department which is again bringing to the fore in a most acute

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Six-Hour Day, Five-Day Week Is Now Watchword for Labor

"8 hours work. 8 hours play. 8 hours rest."

This battle cry that set hundreds of thousands of workers into motion and drew the class lines sharp in 1886 gains force once again.

Today, however, with the technological advances made in industry and the huge strides in the mechanization of the machinery of production labor is inscribing on its banner the fighting watchword: THE SIX HOUR DAY AND THE FIVE DAY WEEK!

The overpowering sentiment for thirty hours a week is taking hold in every factory and workshop of the country. The convention of the American Federation of Labor has unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing this slogan.

"From this convention," said Green, "there will go out a united and determined army that will drive home the acceptance of the five-day week and the six-hour day, and nothing will stop us in the realization of this economic reform."

These are strong words coming from a man who only a few days previously agreed to the Roosevelt edition of the Old Deal capital-labor truce. The thunderous ovation that greeted these hypocritical words reveal Green's motive only too clearly.

On the other is the antagonism of the capitalist class. Avarice and greed for bigger and bigger profits underlies their almost unanimous opposition. The mock chorus screams: "The thirty hour week is socialism! It will drive us out of business."

Roosevelt is a partner in this opposition. The unofficial "brain truster", Raymond Moley, reported to an "informal" gathering of industrialists that Roosevelt's greatest achievement was staving off the 30 hour week. A reporter in the **Herald Tribune** observes that when the demand for a reduction in hours gained in force a year ago, Roosevelt sidetracked it by initiating the NRA!

"Friends" of the working man are not wanting today. In congress the Black-Connery "30 hour week" bill is awaiting action. Under the appearance of reducing hours it is in reality a grandiose stagger system. No limit is set for a day's toil. 30 hours is merely a weekly maximum. This system already prevails in many industrial establishments today. A sop to the workers, it constitutes no serious improvement of their conditions.

Bill Green supports the bill!

This is not the thirty hour week American labor wants. The six-hour day and five-day week, without reduction of wages but rather with increases to meet the rising standard of living—that is what the workers in Frisco meant when they applauded Green.

On whom shall the workers rely? On themselves! On their own strength and power!

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENT

Classes in the International Workers School have already begun. All those interested who have not yet registered can still do so by coming down to the classes. See page 3 for schedule of classes.

Write in J. P. Cannon as Your Vote for New Party in Elections

The working class of New York is confronted with many grave problems in this coming election. For five years they have been pressed down by the catastrophic crisis of capitalism; many of their families have been separated, many of their homes destroyed.

Obviously the workers can gain nothing by voting for the Republican and Democratic parties. Just as a worker cannot support his boss in the factory, he cannot support him on election day.

The workers must gain unemployment insurance, the right to join unions of their own choosing, a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay etc., etc. But can they gain these concessions from the capitalists by merely writing in a name on the ballot? NO!

Voting is only one of the ways the workers can apply pressure on the capitalist government, and not the most important way at that. We say to you openly, "You will not gain these concessions by merely writing in the name of our candidate on the ballot, even if he were elected. You will never vote Socialism into power by the ballot."

You can only gain major concessions from the capitalists when you possess and are led by a strong, able revolutionary party. NO SUCH PARTY EXISTS TO-DAY.

The workers can have no faith in the ability of the timid reformists of the Socialist Party to lead them in their battle against the capitalists.

The Communist Party (Stalinists) has proved itself incompetent to pursue a revolutionary policy. It has completely discredited itself before the working class by its bankrupt policies in America and in the rest of the world where defeat after defeat has been the result of its efforts.

The task of the hour for the working class, therefore, before which all other tasks pale into insignificance, is the building of a new revolutionary party which will be able to wring concessions from the capitalist class, abolish the system of hunger and unemployment and lead the workers onward towards a workers' republic.

What is necessary in this election is that the leftward moving workers of this state show their sympathy and their solidarity with the building of a new revolutionary party in this country.

YOU ARE SUPPORTING THE BUILDING OF THIS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BY WRITING IN THE NAME OF JAMES P. CANNON OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA ON THE BALLOT, FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK STATE.

—New York District, Communist League of America.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Peace! Peace! Where There Is No Peace"

The **Daily Worker** of Oct. 3, in its column, "World Front", takes a justly deserved wallop at Mr. R. Smith, chairman of the British Labor Party. "Passing to the question of war, Mr. Smith, shielding the role of the British imperialists, declared: 'If war is in the air'—cautious fellow this Mr. Smith with his 'if'—it is primarily the result of headstrong, grasping imperialism in the Far East and the barbarous, brutalizing Fascism of Europe".—While the **Daily Worker** writes in a pugnacious mood against those who cover up the war schemes of American, British and French imperialism it might throw a few punches at the head of Karl Radek. Radek, writing in the "D. W.", placed the danger of war on Germany and Japan, without ever a qualifying "primarily". At least this much can be said of the Labor party chief as compared with the Stalinist press agent, he did put in the word "primarily" and also he did take in all European Fascist nations as war-makers, including Italy, and that's more than Radek did in the "D.W."

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Results of Bureaucratic Degeneration

The shocking debauchery in a number of Soviet schools reported in last week's papers is one of the results of the strangling of the Bolshevik party by the Stalinist bureaucracy. With the voice of the party silenced, characterless bureaucrats raised to office through their subservience to the hierarchy "assumed the role of medieval potentates, forcing girl students to sing and dance before them". The death sentence on three of the responsible officials, though highly deserved, does not solve the problem. The building of a new Bolshevik party around the nucleus of Bolshevik-Leninists is necessary for that. To assist in that task we of the Communist League must dedicate ourselves. To speak out that which is, to call degeneration by its proper name is the task of all honest revolutionists. "These disgraceful conditions passed unnoticed by the Communist Party in the Institute", says the Central Committee in Moscow. To say that such conditions could continue side by side with a Bolshevik party is a slander against Bolshevism.

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Roses and the Thirty Hour Week

A dispatch from Washington to the Detroit **News** says: "Moley has been telling the industrial leaders that Roosevelt's supreme service so far has been the warding off of currency inflation, the 30-hour work week and the soldiers' bonus. . . . And the way to avert these measures in the future, is to select a Congress which is unmistakably under the thumb of the President." Miss Perkins, representing the Pres and one of those most thoroughly under his thumb, appears at the A. F. of L. convention. Roses, cheers and a touching introduction by President Green was her reception. Here the role of the "Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism" and the demagogic capitalist politicians meet and merge.

* * *

The Hearst Press and Leon Trotsky

An imaginative story of the presence or expected early arrival of Leon Trotsky was printed in the Hearst press. Its purpose is to stir up reactionary sentiment against a visa for Trotsky. And then comes the check-up from Paris, "Leon Trotsky, world revolutionary, reported plotting to enter the United States secretly, is still in France—in enforced seclusion. French Secret Service has been ordered to keep Trotsky under surveillance and out of politics."

* * *

"Class Brothers" or "Fascist Twins"

The Y.C.L. in a letter to the Y.P.S.L. says they are for a united front with the Young Socialists whom they regard as "class brothers" but not with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and Lovestoneites. (Evidently they haven't heard of Lovestone's latest hope of getting back to the C.I.) The young gentlemen of the Y.C.L. must think that memory of men is short. Did they not issue an Org. Bulletin after Hitler came to power? And didn't they charge at that time, that Trotskyites were counter-revolutionaries precisely because they favored a united front with the Socialists? And further, does John Little dare to challenge Stalin's theory that Social Democracy and Fascism are twins? A "class brother" of a 'twin to Fascism"—that's the Y.C.L. —**BILL.**

PHILADELPHIA
HALLOWEEN PARTY
Saturday, October 27, 8:30 P.M.
1207 North 5th St.
For benefit of "New Party Fund"
Refreshments :: Entertainment
Admission 20c
Auspices: Philadelphia Local, Communist League of America

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM
HUGO OEHLER
will speak on
EUROPE AFLAME!
Friday, October 26, at 8 P.M.
1281 49th Street, Brooklyn

Lessons of the Revolt in Spain

The world-stirring heroism and militancy of the Spanish proletariat, strengthening the Austrian experience, points again to the lesson that the working class can and will fight Fascism. Given the slightest opportunity the workers will take their stand on the barricades. The will to power is clear in the Spanish events. But victory, here as elsewhere, hinged on revolutionary leadership—a party. The following analysis does not pretend at finality.

Weaknesses of the Uprising

1. Lack of previous preparation through the development of partial struggles through which the proletariat could be strengthened and the enemy weakened prior to the insurrectionary act itself. Once the situation had developed however to the point when Lerroux announced the composition of his cabinet, it was then, evidently, too late to back out. Through the provocation of Lerroux, the workers were forced into an abortive movement for the seizure of power when the real task was but to check the advance of Fascism.

2. Lack of a coordinated, national, well functioning united front movement. The Workers Alliances existed in certain provinces and regions only. In spite of the insistence of the International Communists and other minority groups, the Socialist party prevented the establishment of the National Workers Alliance. The C.N.T. and its anarchist leadership remained aloof from the Workers Alliances with the exception of Asturias. The Stalinists joined the Workers Alliances at the last moment.

3. No appreciable section of the army came forward in support of the insurrection. The cases in which the army refused to fire on the workers, were not sufficient to indicate any real undermining of the morale of the armed forces. Nuclei work within the army on the part of the revolutionary groups was entirely too sporadic and totally insufficient. Furthermore, the lack of clarity as to aims on the part of the workers gave rise to a natural hesitancy of the soldiers who are influenced most by the determination of the revolutionary class to take power.

All three of these vital defects in the October revolt arise from a single common cause: the lack of a communist party, capable theoretically and organizationally to give leadership and guidance to the Spanish working class. The Socialist party and the Anarchists have both shown their complete inability to play the vanguard role, while the Stalinists have also contributed their two cents towards the defeat. Fortunately for the workers the Stalinists were not strong enough to do either much good or very much harm. The International Communists, who could have contributed real value in the field of theory, were too small numerically and too isolated, to play a decisive role. The need of a vanguard workers' party, if victory is to be achieved, is once more demonstrated by the events themselves.

Indications are that there will be a breathing space of more or less limited duration before the Fascists feel themselves strong enough to take over full power under a dictatorship of their own. In this interval, and in spite of the repressions that are certain to follow the crushing of the revolt, the Spanish labor movement will still have certain possibilities of functioning on a semi-legal basis. During this period a series of splits and realignments will take place. The Social Democracy will almost certainly split into two or more groups, and sections of the party with the majority of the Socialist Youth can be expected to declare themselves in solidarity with the idea of the Fourth International.

The crisis in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement can be expected to intensify in the coming period and we can now predict a definite break-up or reorientation of their whole movement. The bulk of Anarcho-Syndicalist workers can be expected to follow the Syndicalist Libertarian Federation and the Asturias section of the C.N.T. in the trend away from anarchism and towards political action. The more advanced elements of the S.L.F. may soon be found supporting the idea of building a new Communist Party in Spain together with the present Communist Left (Internationalists) and the Communist elements of the Socialist Youth and S. P.

Simultaneous with the efforts to build the new revolutionary party, the Internationalist Communists of Spain will persist in their work of forging the National Workers Alliances and of transforming these embryonic Soviets into effective organisms capable of expressing the will of the great toiling masses of the country.

There is very little time left for the proletariat of Spain. They must reassemble their forces, strengthen and extend the Workers Alliances, future organs of their class power, and build the new Communist Party capable of leading them to victory in the final decisive battle with Fascism that is yet to come. —**ROSALIO NEGRETE**

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Seamens "Strike" Flops

The attempt on the part of the Stalinist controlled Marine Workers Industrial Union to tie up the East Coast has come to an ignominous end. The "strike" has just been called off. Under the infallible leadership of the official C. P. there can, of course, be no defeats, so that when something goes wrong with one of its pet tactics, a fancy *name has to be invented to cover* up the mess. For this latest failure the editorial staff of the **Daily Worker** has tricked up the name "Organized retreat". In plain English, however, it means that the attempted seamen's strike was a flop. The events leading to this latest piece of crazy Stalinist adventurism are as follows:

The International Seamen's Union, like all other A. F. of L. unions, has in spite of reactionary leadership of the worst sort, been experiencing a new lease on life. Forced by a wave of resentment against rotten conditions, the I.S.U. threatened to tie up the Atlantic seaboard on October 8, unless the shipping companies recognized the union and granted better conditions. However, a few days before the strike date, the bosses consented to arbitrate the matter before the Labor Board. The I.S.U. leadership, therefore, called off the strike. We haven't much use for the A. F. of L. officialdom, and their invariable dependence on the governmental machinery of the NRA to help fight a union's battles. This tendency has to be fought tooth and nail. But neither have we much use for the adventurist tactics with which the Stalinist-inspired Marine Workers Industrial Union fought this A. F. of L. officialdom.

For the Stalinists, thinking that they could take advantage of the strike sentiment among the seamen, decided to call a strike on October 8 anyway, over the heads of the I.S.U. leadership, expecting that the rank and file would flock to the leadership of the M.W.I.U.—the regular united-front-from-below stuff!

Ballast and Noise

The M.W.I.U., like most T.U.U.L. unions, is largely a paper organization on the East coast. Indeed just how papery it is can be seen by the fact that only a few hundred men responded to the strike call, a good many of these being unemployed, instead of the 35,000 the leaders claimed would respond. Likewise, being intent all these years on building T.U.U.L. unions, the Stalinist strategists never had developed a left-wing movement in the I.S.U. So that, although there was among the seamen a basis for the strike, there was no basis at all on which the Stalinists could take leadership of that strike.

The I.S.U. ordered its men to stay on the job, a vicious red scare was started by the I.S.U. leaders and the bosses, to which the Stalinists with their usual trade union perspicacity left themselves wide open, and those few I.S.U. militants who had jobs, and didn't want to scab even though their own union wasn't on strike, lost these jobs and will now probably be lost as a leavening in the I.S.U. In fact, the would-be great strike was nipped even before it got started.

So now the Stalinists are beating an "organized retreat". As the **Daily Worker** puts it: "Only the united efforts of the ship owners, the government, and the I.S.U. and I.L.A. officials succeeded in preventing the seamen from developing the strike on a mass basis." What an excuse for an "organized retreat". What did the great C. P. minds expect from the bosses, the NRA and the I.S.U. officials if not attempts to wreck the Stalinist maneuver? The real reason why the Stalinists failed in "developing the strike on a mass basis" is because they had no basis in the mass. Without having a real foothold among the organized seamen, they attempted a putsch, using their own paper union as a base.

When the Minneapolis truck strike was in progress, the leaders in that struggle tried to get the rest of the unions in the town out on a 48 hour sympathy strike with the truckmen. These efforts failed largely because left wing influence in these unions was not strong enough to force the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to take this step. The Stalinists to this day condemn the Minneapolis leaders for not calling a general strike anyway. These Stalinists have now had a chance to show whether their policy of issuing strike calls "over the heads of the leadership" works. It does not. Among the seamen it merely spread confusion and cost some militants, whom the Stalinists have miseducated, their jobs.

Whether the C. P. trade union strategists will ever learn that the only way you can influence workers is to have roots in the organizations to which these workers belong is questionable. For the lesson the Stalinists draw from their attempted East coast strike is "to build an opposition in the International Seamen's Union" which sounds sensible but is contradicted by the fact that they also will "build the Marine Workers Industrial Union". —**B.B.**

In the Philadelphia I. L. G. W. U.

Philadelphia.—The leaders of local 50 I.L.G.W.U. have always hated to call membership meetings, especially now when there are so many new elements who are not so easily handled. So that under one pretext or another, there has been no membership meeting for almost four months.

The local is divided into two branches, silk and cotton dress and blouse, and they meet separately. The codes for silk dress and blouses were fixed last Fall, but great difficulties were encountered with respect to the cotton dress code since it is a much larger industry, practically unorganized and is considered part of the cotton wear code by the bosses, who are fighting to keep the minimum wage very low.

Last week, directly after work, a meeting was finally called of the cotton and blouse branch, for the purpose of discussing new developments with regard to the cotton code as well as general conditions in the trade.

After a long wait the meeting started and the secretary began to read the minutes of three executive board and one joint board meeting. The minutes of the last executive meeting was what most interested us as it contained the following for approval: 1—Anti-Fascist Fund. 2—Cotton Code. 3—Five Dollar tax on members, decided by the May convention. 4—Union educational program, and 5—Ferreting out the Communist party.

The Smoke-Screen

Meanwhile the manager, Reisberg, arrived and the minutes of the last Executive were asked to be discussed and approved. The Stalinist opposition immediately got into action. All questions concerning the every day problems confronting the workers in the shops were forgotten and they only wanted to take up and discuss Fascism. The meeting was turned into one long wrangle between the Stalinists and Reisberg over this question.

The workers became restless, having come directly from work. Particularly, the new inexperienced members who were making as low as five and six dollars a week, looked bewildered and confused and didn't know what all the shouting was about. Some began to walk out of the meeting.

At this point I took the floor and said that it would be a good thing to discuss such an important matter as Fascism after we took up the cotton code and the possibility of raising the minimum which is only thirteen dollars a week and to do something about the general conditions in the trade, wage cuts, etc. The workers vigorously approved what I said, but both Reisberg, the right winger and the Stalinists were against my suggestion.

Reisberg then decided to rule the meeting, refusing to allow any discussion. He spent the rest of the time explaining Fascism and the importance of helping its victims in Europe. Someone tried to make a motion to elect delegates to the Chicago Conference Against War and Fascism but he ruled it out of order. He then reported on the union educational program and then came to the cotton code.

The "Nice" Bosses

In discussing the cotton code, he turned to me and accused me of wanting a strike but I was to be disappointed as the bosses were "nice enough" to grant the thirty-six hour week and minimum wage of $13 a week. He then launched into an attack against the new members for not paying dues, for being so impatient for better conditions and demanding that they pay the five dollar tax in order to send organizers around.

As I stated before, the workers are working part-time and making very little, so that during his entire speech, not the Stalinists but the new elements were constantly interrupting. Since it was getting late the meeting was adjourned and nothing really was accomplished.

This union bureaucrat, Reisberg, is able to run meetings in this manner, because we haven't a clear-cut left wing opposition, working out left wing policies in the union. There is no cooperation between the various progressive groups and the workers, feeling nothing is done at meetings, stay away. A genuine left wing opposition must be built.

—**PHILA. CLOTHING WORKER**

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC, REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933,

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York City for October 1, 1934.

State of New York — ss.
County of New York

Before me, a..... in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared ...., who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Communist League of America; Editor, J. P. Cannon; *Managing Editor*, George Clarke; Business Manager, Rose Karnser; all of 144 Second Avenue.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Editorial Board: Martin Abern: 144 Second Ave.; James P. Cannon, 144 Second Ave.; Max Shachtman, 144 Second Ave.; Maurice Spector, 144 Second Ave.; Arne Swabeck, 144 Second Ave.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROSE KARSNER,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this eleventh day of Oct., 1934.

Louis J. Goldberg.

(My commission expires March 30, 1935.)

—PHILADELPHIA—
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FORUM
431 Pine Street
Sunday Evenings at 8:15 P.M.
October to May 1934-35.

Oct. 21—Lecture: "Role of Social-Democracy in Austria"
ALICE HANSEN, Secretary Socialist Party, North Philadelphia.

Oct. 28—Lecture: "Civil Liberties In the Class Struggle"
JOHN V. STANGER, Phila. Sec. Penna. Civil Liberties Union.

Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebration of the Russian Revolution—
How It Was Won.
MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor New International.
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Some Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work

1. Basis of "Youth Problem"

By ALBERT GLOTZER

The movement to create the Fourth International must also endeavor to build simultaneously, the new communist youth international. It is unnecessary to belabor the point by declaring that the youth have either been underestimated and misunderstood, or that their movements have been horribly maltreated, as a result of the petty-bourgeois prejudices of social democracy and the factional abuses of Stalinist revisionism. All this is true enough, but these truths do not erase the fact that when the Young Communist International was organized in 1919, it was founded upon correct principles and enjoyed a healthy growth for several years. With the victory of Stalinism the organization ceased to grow. For more than ten years the communist youth movement has suffered uninterrupted decline until today it is an almost non-existent factor in the general political and organizational life of disintegrating Stalinism.

In the course of this past decade, the principles upon which the communist youth movement was built have either been forgotten, or else pushed back so far into the archives of the pseudo-Bolsheviks that for all practical purposes these principles never existed. Now it is necessary to restate them in a language so plain that no possible misunderstandings can arise. The restatement of these principled concepts should serve as a guide for all our young comrades in their work toward rebuilding the communist youth movement.

While it is true that Stalinism with all its vicious theories and practices unavoidably brought destruction upon a healthy and growing youth international, not every error committed by the youth can be explained with the terse rejoinder: Stalinism. There are a number of problems which confront the youth movement that are and were, even for the Y.C.I. in its early years, experimental in character. And it could not be otherwise. There is no way of testing many youth problems except through the method of experiment. The experiments in order to determine correct paths were rudely interrupted shortly after they had begun, and we are still at a stage where we must independently solve, through practice, problems of youth organization and activity. In our work of reconstructing the communist youth on an international basis, we should therefore, always be ready to discuss and experiment with new ideas and proposals which, together with a persistent activity among the masses of young workers, will lead to a solution of such problems. But before we can do this it is necessary to know where to begin, and for this purpose the writer presents in brief form, an outline of the fundamental questions of youth work. On the basis of an understanding and application of the following it will be possible to proceed more intelligently and vigorously in realizing our goal.

The rise of world fascism, which recruits great numbers from the youth in society, demands more than the stereotyped attitude toward this problem that is usually prevalent in the workers movement: we must win the youth. A good barometer of the success of the revolutionary internationalists will be present in its ability to realize the support of the youth to its theory and practice.

* * *

The "youth problem" arises out of the very nature of the capitalist social order. It becomes particularly acute with the development of the imperialist stage of capitalism which absorbs ever greater numbers of youth into industry, thus accentuating one of the outstanding characteristics of factory production under early capitalism. Entering industry as proletarians, the youth are confronted with the general problems of the proletariat as a class. Thus, the "youth problem" is bound up with the question of exploitation as it effects the entire working class. One must, therefore, seek the background to all issues of a youth character in the nature of the social order, in the relations of production. The youth are divided according to the classes in society: bourgeois, proletarian and intermediary. Its problems are essentially class problems. We do not approach the matter from the point of view of the youth in general, but from the point of view of the proletarian youth whose problems are, by and large, the problems of the working class as a whole, and whose emancipation depends upon the emancipation of the class.

The youth are physically weaker and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate of exploitation between the youth and adult workers, either in hours, wages, or conditions of labor, the special nature of the youth question lies in the fact that from the economic basis (which is in general the same as the adult worker) it becomes transformed into a physical and psychologic one. It is necessary to return to this when dealing with the subject of the economic struggles of the young workers.

A second vital matter, which acquires particular youth significance, especially with the rise of imperialism and the attendant colossal growth of armaments and war, is the question of anti-militarism and the struggle against war. In this field the youth are the heaviest sufferers.

Thirdly, we are confronted with a system of capitalist education, the aim of which is to train a servile youth that will be ready to answer the beck and call of the master class. Beginning with the children, through the schools, the press, radio, sports, etc., the ruling class molds a "bourgeois minded" youth.

The youth work then is divided into three essential fields:

a) the economic struggles of the young workers;

b) anti-militarism and the struggle against war; and,

c) socialist education.

The special character of the young workers (physical and mental immaturity) and his particular status in the capitalist social order make necessary the existence of a special youth organization. If the working class is to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalism it must devote special efforts to overcome "bourgeois prejudices" toward the youth, to liquidate as speedily as possible a "natural" antagonism between the adults and youth, with the aim of simultaneously neutralizing the influence of capitalism upon this section of the proletariat and winning them to the banner of the revolution. The workers movement as a whole must aid in the building of the youth movement, help to solve its problems, supply leadership to it, etc.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION

It follows from the above that if the general problems of the youth are bound up with the struggle of *the working class as a whole, and* its tasks are special ones adapted for winning the broad masses of young workers, the youth movement cannot play the role of an "individual, independent, political revolutionary organization". At the present period of development it is not necessary for us to begin the investigation into the character of the Party and the youth organizations. That has been done well by the 2nd Congresses of the Communist International and the Young Communist International. The Party is the leader of the working class. The Party gives political direction to the class as a whole; it is the vanguard of the proletariat. History permits no dispute in this question. The youth organization is only a section of the organized working class which is dependent upon the party for political guidance. Its particular field of work is among the young proletarians whom it seeks to win to the side of the working class. Thus youth work is a specialized field of Party work. That is why the Y.C.I. in 1922 described the youth organization in the following manner:

". . . the young communist organizations are MASS organizations for communist militant education of the working class youth, the SCHOOL in which the young workerse an be instructed in the mass *struggle for communism*".

The youth organization cannot be a mere "cultural" organization, because it is impossible to distinguish the struggle for culture from the general class struggle. Neither can it be a pure "educational" organization because the education of the proletarian youth without participation in the class struggle would not lead to the creation of the type of organization we are seeking. The youth organization must be a militant revolutionary one, which participates in the class struggle, seeks to educate not only it own ranks but the broad masses of youth, constructs special social and sports activities (not rejecting them as bourgeois or social democratic devices), all the time bearing in mind that it is not a second party and that its activities do no duplicate the Party's, but dovetail into them. The activities need to be varied enough so as to be able to attract the completely raw and inexperienced, who are nevertheless ready to learn.

One of the outstanding weaknesses of the youth organizations today, a weakness that has been present for many years, is that they conceived of their task merely as a copy of the party work and failed to develop their own special methods and forms. It is interesting to note how the Y.C.I. regarded this question during the early years of its existence. Discussing these fundamental questions of youth work it said:

"The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is helping to spread the truth and doing political and economic work among the young proletariat. But, by the way, is that not the syndicalist idea of the uniform organization? No!

"Insofar as the working class youth is a part of the entire work-

(Continued on Page 4)

QUESTION BOX

YIPSEL, BRONX—

Question: Could you briefly give the Communist position as to why it would not be possible for a Socialist-controlled government to legislate its way to a Socialist society? Where can I find something by Trotsky on this question?

Answer: The "Question Box" of August 4th had occasion to point out, based upon quotations from the "liberal" historian, Beard, that even if we recognized the reformist basis, there was no reason to believe that a party with revolutionary aims could capture a parliamentary majority in this country, since the Constitution itself was framed to prevent such a possibility. By this of course we had no intention of recognizing the reformist assumptions because an analysis of the historic process forces us to conclude that the matter will be settled by the dynamics of the class struggle itself in which the parliamentary arena occupies but a subordinate role. However, even if we grant the possibility of the election of a REAL LABOUR government, we are forced to the conclusion that this could only be the beginning of a civil war.

Listen to Trotsky in his answer to the British advocates of Socialist gradualism: ". . . For the Conservatives, as for the remnants of the Liberals, it would be a question of discrediting the first independent Government of the working class at any cost. For them it would be a question of life or death. This is not in the least the same as the old struggle between Liberals and Conservatives, when the differences did not get outside the 'family' of the possessing classes. Any serious reforms undertaken by the Labour Government in the spheres of taxation, nationalization, and a real democratisation of the administration would quicken a mighty flood of enthusiasm in the working masses, and—since appetite comes from eating—these successful MODERATE reforms would inevitably set in train more and more RADICAL reforms. In other words, every new day would separate the Conservatives still further from the possibility of returning to power. The Conservatives could not but take a quite clear account of the fact that the question was not of an alternating change of Government, but of the beginning of the social revolution by parliamentary means. The resources of State obstruction, and legislative and administrative sabotage in the hands of the possessing classes, are immense, since, no matter what their parliamentary majority, all the State apparatus from top to bottom is inseparably linked with the bourgeoisie. To it all belongs: all the press, the most important organs of local self-government, the universities, schools, the church, innumerable clubs, and voluntary societies generally. In their hands are the banks and the whole system of social credit, and, finally, the apparatus of transport and trade, so that the daily food . . . , including that of the Labour Government, would depend on the great capitalist combines. It is absolutely obvious that all these gigantic means will be brought into action with frantic violence in order to dam the activity of the Labour Government, to paralyse its exertions, to frighten it, to effect cleavages in its parliamentary majority, and, finally, to cause a financial panic, provision difficulties, lockouts, to terrorize the upper ranks of the workers' organizations, and to sap the strength of the proletariat. Only an utter fool may not comprehend that the bourgeoisie will bring into action heaven, earth, and the infernal regions in the event of the actual coming to power of a Labour Government.

". . . What will be left for a Labour Government to do? Either ignominiously to capitulate, or to put up an opposition . . . for the suppression of opposition of that kind a serious material force and a strong State apparatus are indispensable. Neither the one nor the other will be found on the side of the Labour Government. The police, judiciary, army, and militia will be on the side of the disorganizers, saboteurs, and Fascists. The bureaucratic apparatus must be destroyed, replacing the reactionaries by members of the Labour Party. There will be no other way than this. But it is absolutely obvious that such thoroughgoing, although fully 'legal', State measures will extraordinarily sharpen the legal and illegal opposition of the united bourgeois reaction. In other words: this also is the way of civil war." ("Where is Britain Going?")

Question: Particularly because of the German and Austrian experiences, I have become convinced that the reformist road is no longer possible. My experience with the official Communist Party has shown me that it is only a disruptive force in the labor movement so there remains only the "Trotskyites" or the "Lovestoneites" through whom I can enter the ranks of Communism. Why should I prefer one as against the other?

..**Answer:** The "Lovestoneites" stand for reform of the C. I. and base themselves upon the same false theoretical premise as the Stalinists, i.e., the theorem of "Socialism in one country", which is the fundamental root from which flows all of the Stalinist distortions and lunacies. Were you to join the "Lovestoneites" you would only find yourself in the camp of those who are trying to crawl back into the swamp, whose true nature you recognize. There remains but one choice for you: the organization which stands for new Communist parties and a new International.

* * *

JAMES SH., NEW YORK (Continued)

Question: What was the attitude of the Communist League to the election platform of the official Communist Party in 1930 and 1932?

Answer: In general the League did not attempt to go into a criticism of the details of the C.P.'s election platform. We were concerned mainly that the workers give the C.P. their support since, primarily, every such vote meant a vote for revolution. The following excerpt from our election appeal essentially states our position for that time: "Our differences with the Party's policies, which isolates it from the masses and impedes the development of the revolutionary movement in this and other countries, cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist Party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party. . . . The Left Opposition therefore ranges itself alongside its party and calls upon every worker to cast his vote for his party, the Communist party." (**Militant,** Oct. 29, 1934.) It must be remembered, of course, that we then considered ourselves a faction of the party. That, of course, was yesterday.

You will find whatever the League had to say, in print, on these elections in the October **Militants** for 1930 and 1932, which are on file at the 42nd Street library.

..**Question:** What were the chief differences between the Proletarian party and the Workers party in their early days?

Answer: The first difference arose out of the refusal of the Proletarian party to adapt itself to the illegal conditions forced upon a revolutionary party in those days. When the Workers party came out from underground with a program making a legal party possible, the Proletarian party refused to join it, claiming the program of the Workers party to be non-Marxist because it had been established on a minimum basis, and particularly because the P.P. considered the struggle for immediate demands to be incorrect.

LEADING PHILADELPHIA C. P. MEMBER DECLARES FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

October 17, 1934.

To the Philadelphia District Committee of Communist Party U.S.A.
To the Membership of the C.P., U.S.A.

Dear Comrades:

About two months ago, by request of the Philadelphia District of the Communist Party, I was asked to state my position on the Negro question in writing. This I did to the best of my ability, concluding that whatever my political differences with the Party might be, I was ready to carry through the Party line. In spite of my willingness to submit to Party discipline, I was arbitrarily removed as District Secretary of the I.L.D. and told that I could not hold any Party post until I agreed with the Party on the Negro question.

After many weeks of study, careful deliberation, I have arrived at certain definite conclusions, not only on the Negro question but on other vital problems concerning the working class.

The Negro Question

The key to the Negro problem in the United States, according to the Party, is the idea expressed by the slogan "Self-Determination of the Negroes" in the so-called Black Belt in the South.

One of the marked attributes of a national minority is that there is a general feeling among them that they are a nation. An intense, minute examination of the literature concerning Negro problems, etc. from the year 1616 to the present does not record any appreciate aspiration or sentiment for a Negro nation in the black belt. The culture of the slave (folk songs, etc.) are not of a national character, but have a distinct class content. The only nationalist sentiment in the United States is the Neo-Garveyite groups who center around the "back to Africa" and pan-Islam movement. In spite of our high-geared propaganda and superhuman salesmanship, the Party has failed to convert these nationalist utopians to renounce the visionary idea of Nationhood in Africa for Nationhood in the Black Belt. The imposed slogan of Self-Determination has failed to blossom, unless the Party is willing to claim credit for the Isolationist-Segregationist "49" State project.

The Utopian Dream of Self-Determination Under Capitalism

I want to quote from the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) on the National and Colonial Question. I think such a quotation will aid towards clarity:

"It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above that the policy of the Communist International on National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism without which national inequality and oppression cannot be abolished."

Now then, can one support the theses that it is even probable for the peasantry of the Black Belt to establish Self-Determination (Nationhood) without a successful proletarian revolution? The Black Belt is an integral part of the American field of exploitation of the capitalist. It is just as fruitful and dear to them as New York or California. Plain common sense leads me to believe that the capitalists who control the Federal Government would mobilize the armed forces of reaction for the suppression of a National revolutionary insurrection in the Black Belt in the same manner as they would ruthlessly put down a working-class insurrection in Rhode Island. Under American capitalism a Negro nation in the Black belt has as much chance of existing as a Soviet Rhode Island with the rest of the United States intact under the rule of American imperialism.

The Negroes are Not a Nation in the United States

In our Negro population, as it came from the western coast of Africa, there were Wolofs and Fulahs, tall, well-built and very black, hailing from Senegambia and its vicinity; there were hundreds of thousands from the slave coast Tshis, Ewes, and Yorubans, including Dahomians; and mingled with all these, Sudanese Negroes proper, were occasional contributions of mixed stock, from the north and northeast, having an infusion of Moorish blood. There were other thousands from Lower Guiana, belonging to Bantu stock, not so black in color as the Sudanese. These Negroes came to the American shores with a distinct language, a different religion, a separate culture, etc. The master class has been able to obliterate the Negro national character. A nation, we must remember, like other social phenomena, is subject to the law of change; it has its beginnings and also its end (Stalin).

The African, on arriving in this country, was not permitted to converse in his native language but was forced to adopt the language of his conquerors. His native culture was tabooed, he could no longer tread the same religious path but had to worship the God of his master's making. With the exception of race, the twelve million Negroes in the United States have been fused into the American nation. Do we not have the same religion, language, culture, and dwell on common territory as other inhabitants of this nation? The Black Belt is no exception, and I will say that even here the Negroes do not have geographical solidarity. Take a glance at this data.

There are 189 counties in the United States that have 51 percent or more of the population Negro. These counties are located in eleven southern states, scattered from Virginia to Texas. The total Negro population in these 189 counties is 3,041,219. The total white population is 2,079,919. These counties with Negro majorities constitute only 17 percent of the counties in these eleven states. These states are divided into 1,060 counties.

Race Equality in the United States, Self-Determination for West Indies, Haiti and Africa

Communists must march forward with the battle-cry of race equality. Not a moment can be lost. The fascists have proclaimed in both hemispheres a war of extermination against the Jews and non Aryans. In the United States fascist organizations are awakening. In Germany it is the Jew who is faced with extermination at the hands of the ruthless bloodhounds. In the United States, under the slogan of "Race Inferiority", "White Man's Burden", etc. the fascists and the forces of reaction have set the trap for the brutal elimination of an "inferior" race (Negroes). Only a broad, educational, agitational and revolutionary struggle for the realization of race equality can save the Negro people from annihilation from the strong-arm attacks of the fascist hordes.

For War Against Our Own Imperialists

It was Lenin who emphasized the idea of workers of advanced countries waging a sharp struggle against their own imperialists for the freedom of the colonies. Our Party must certainly correct itself on this point. The Party did not raise high the slogan of self-determination for Liberia and the West Indies, and for Negro national minorities in South and Central America. England even today is busily occupied attempting to utilize the League of Robbers (League of Nations) for the seizure of Liberia. Italy has boldly shouted to the world that it will make the Negro kingdom of Abyssinia an Italian colony. These are problems that demand an immediate program of action. The Central Committee and our leading organs must understand that regardless of language, ideology, customs, or what land the Negro resides in, he is an oppressed race. This fact alone makes it imperative that events in Liberia or Abyssinia are of prime importance to the Negroes of America.

The Trade Union Policy and its Relation to the Negro Problem

The trade union field is conspicuous by the absence of a clear-cut policy on Negro work. Our trade union, T.U.U.L., has failed to exert influence among the Negro working people. This weakness can be attributed to the traditional chauvinistic attitude of the American trade union movement. The desertion of the A. F. of L. by our Party and the attempt to build a dual trade union, did not in the least eradicate the distrust of the Negro workers for the trade unions in general. The Negro workers could not feel the so-called principle difference of the two trade union centers. Therefore, it was natural for Negroes to accept the A. F. of L. because of its strength and universal recognition.

The Communists have this historic task: to wage an uncompromising fight for race equality and job equality in the trade unions. The Negroes will judge the Communists on the ability of the left-wing to break down racial barriers in trades, industries, professions where Negroes are barred because of color. Unless the Communists and left-wing in the A. F. of L. speed up the fight for race equality, **unionism will march in giant strides to defeat.**

COMRADES! Back into the A. F. of L.! Build the left-wing! Raise to the sky the banner of race equality. By action convince the Negro worker that they are welcome in the unions as equal co-partners in the common struggle for a decent standard of living.

Democratic Centralism versus Bureaucratic Centrism

What is the cause of the mistakes outlined above? Since the departure of the Comintern from revolutionary internationalism, and the adoption of the anti-Leninist theory of "Socialism in One Country", the bureaucracy, in order to maintain power must do away with democratic centralism, and push into the background genuine workers' democracy in the Party.

This makes it impossible to penetrate with new ideas; takes away all opportunities to discuss freely within the Party the various differences which occur, and therefore handicaps the practical application of Communist work. The rule of the bureaucrats chokes the initiative of the rank and file, and undermines the very basis of a revolutionary party.

The taking away from the membership of the right to participate actively in the formulation of policies, strategy, and tactics, and of electing its committees freely, is a definite break from the teachings of Lenin. The leadership allows only the viewpoint to be discussed, and he who has an opinion which differs from the official position is immediately branded, and measures are taken against him.

Is it possible to rectify these mistakes from within? I am definitely of the opinion that it is not. Experience has shown that the bureaucrats will not permit criticism. Any healthy criticism directed against their policies is met with slanders, lies, and expulsions.

It is extremely difficult for a worker-Communist who has devoted five years to active participation in the building of our Party, to break with all those with whom he has shared common experience and struggle. No attempt to discredit by slander can disprove the fact of my work as indicated by my record (Section Organizer C. P.; District Agit-Prop. Director; District Organizer, L.S.N.R.; District Secretary I.L.D.).

However, it gives me consolation that all honest revolutionists will follow me and will be comrades-in-arms in the building of a NEW REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY and a New (Fourth) International.

LONG LIVE THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGRO RACE!

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

With Communist Greetings,

(Signed) **JAMES W. WATSON**

Discussion Article

A Critique of the Stalinist Theory Of Self-Determination

The following contribution to our discussion on the Negro question is written by a comrade, formerly very active in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in Kansas City. This is the first article of a series by comrade Williamson. Other contributions, not exceeding 700 words are invited.—Ed.

* * *

The Stalinist theory of self determination, or the theory that the official Communist Party believes will make the Negro Share Croppers lead a national agrarian revolution in the southern section of the United States, despite the national attention that it is receiving, is destined to failure or defeat. Like most of the ventures of Browder, it will not stand the acid test. The theory was probably first adopted by the corrupt misinformed central committee of the Communist Party for the purpose of strengthening Stalinism in the United States and accelerating revolutionary developments throughout the nation; but their false tactics and approach to the question has actually retarded the development and growth of Communism among both white and Negro workers.

Already the petty bourgeois Negroes have seized and capitalized upon the theory of self determination for the black belt in many sections of the country. The Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, with headquarters in St. Louis, Mo., recently organized by Japanese agents in this country, seeking to win the support of the Negro people in case of war between the United States and Japan, and their petty bourgeois Negro lackeys, who are seeking freedom from the white capitalist, so as to have more liberty to rob the Negro worker, have taken the theory of the black belt from the Stalinists and converted it into the future black republic of North America.

Self determination for the imaginary black belt extended to one of the many national minorities of the country, tends to convey the idea of further separation of the so-called races and is foreign to Marxism. It is not possible under capitalism and not necessary under socialism or communism.

However, when it comes to the colonial peoples we are faced with an entirely different economic and social problem. The colonial people represent a national majority, have a different language, in many respects a different culture, different customs and traditions from the people in the imperialist country, and, as such, should be given the right of self determination. Cuba, Hawaii and Haiti are such countries.

The American Negro, on the other hand, is so closely interwoven into American custom and tradition that we cannot do him and the cause of world socialism or communism justice by struggling for a Jim Crow black republic in America which will breed more antagonism among blacks and whites.

Our fight, the fight of the Communist League of America, shall, therefore, be for full social, political and economic equality for the Negro worker who is super-robbed and exploited by white capitalism in the United States. Each Bolshevik-Leninist should make it his or her duty to struggle against lynching, Jimcrowism, and disfranchisement of his fellow Negro worker. He should struggle for equal opportunities in the basic industries for the Negro worker who receives a lower wage than the white worker, and for other special demands, which if not gained, will lower the living standard of both groups of workers.

The theory of self determination should be guarded against since it will, in time, play into the hands of the American bourgeoisie who will, in the future, oscillate apparently to the left and use it, through the assistance of their Negro bourgeois allies, to further divide the ranks of the American working class which is gathering strength and momentum.

However, we cannot overlook the precarious lot of the Negro worker and its importance to the American labor movement, but, at the same time we must avoid a neo-Garvey, Stalinist or nationalist approach to the question. When properly made conscious of his class position as a worker, the Negro worker will contribute much to the revolutionary movement, especially to the building of the Fourth International. The great mistake made by the Communist Party is: in recruiting Negroes it recruits them as a race and not as workers for the cause of Marxism. This conveys the idea of Jimcrowism to the Negro worker,—just what he is trying to avoid; and this is highly personified in the Stalinist idea of a black Jimcrow Republic in the south, or self determination for the imaginary black belt. It is not clear exactly why the Stalinists don't support Marcus Garvey's utopia of black empire building in Africa. Oh, perhaps it is cheaper to transport them to the south than ship fifteen million to Africa. It is a polemic over finance, not theory.

Browder has oftimes marvelled at the number of Negroes who drift into his party only to desert it. These Negro workers, like other workers, find that their opinions are brow-beaten and suppressed by Browder and the Stalinist bureaucracy, and their only redress is a vote with their legs.

The new revolutionary party of communism in America, a part of the Fourth International, must adopt a different slogan to that of the bankrupt Stalinist theory of self determination. This slogan, let me reiterate, should be for the full social, economic and political equality for the Negro worker. Such a slogan for the freedom of a national minority will be true Marxism. This is the correct approach to the question of national minorities and will aid greatly in the building of a new revolutionary party of genuine communism for the purpose of struggling for power in the future.

—SIMON WILLIAMSON.

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 15th

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism .....Carl Cowl, Instructor
   Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
3. History and Principles of the International Communists .....Max Shachtman
   Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
4. State and Revolution .....Jack Weber
   Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
5. American History .....Felix Morrow
   Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
6. Elementary Marxian Economics.....Alfred Weaver
   Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is $1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning **Gramercy 5-9624.**

WORLD OF LABOR

NON-AGGRESSION WITH A VENGEANCE

The term non-aggression has been used to define the united front pact between the Communist and Socialist party of France. A document signed by leading representatives of the centrist parties in question convinces us that if anything, this description is an understatement. **L'Humanite** for Sept. 15 carries the decisions of a "coordination committee, instructed with the application of the unity pact. . ." This committee met on Sept 11 at the Cooperative House, Paris. In attendance were Cachin, Thorez, and Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Farinet, Lagorgette, Descourtieux for the S. P.

After smugly rubbing their hands over the "results" of the united front, they arrive at the main point under consideration and for which, undoubtedly the meeting was held. We quote from point II of the document:

"The representatives of the two parties are in agreement that for the loyal execution of the pact, attacks directed against either one of the two parties, even in the course of meetings organized separately by either one, should be suppressed."

The readers of the **Daily Worker** will probably remember that much mud was slung at us by one, Harry Gannes for the decision of our youth section to join the Young Socialists of France. With a stupid wise-crack he dismissed the fact that the Young Bolshevik-Leninists had renounced none of their program and would continue the fight for Marxism and a new Youth International within the effervescent ranks of the French Yipsels. We had expected nothing better from a Stalinist scribbler who is paid for concocting the best slander against the Bolsheviks. Facts still speak louder than calumny, and long quotations from **Le Combat des Jeunes** were reprinted in the **Militant** so that there be no doubt as to the veracity of our statements. We rest our case with the firm conviction that every honest revolutionary worker can judge it on its merits and will come to a position of agreement with us.

Now, let those that holler so loud about capitulation to the social-democracy and counter-revolution explain to us how they are fighting the Blums and the others when they agree not to attack them even **at their own meetings.** Our fight against the social democracy, its principles and leaders, is to the bitter end, regardless of whether this is done from within or without. The Stalinists, not for the first time—remember the Anglo-Russian Committee—are in a love-feast with those they only yesterday branded as social-fascists, no criticism anywhere or anyplace.

We venture to say that, besides slander, there will be no answer. With lights out and shades down the Stalinists enter a united front with the social democrats on the one condition that the crimes of both bureaucracies are smothered with silence. Thus the great desire of the masses for united action against Fascism is dampened by the bureaucrats of both parties whose agreement more and more resembles a thieves' pact.

* * *

STRIKE WAVE IN SOUTH AMERICA

The last few weeks have witnessed a decided increase in the number, importance and intensity of labor struggles in practically every South American country. The month of September was marked by a series of large local strikes throughout Brazil, culminating in the general strike at Para. The very promising railroad strike in Colombia was run into the ground due to inefficient leadership and organizational looseness. Also in Colombia at the present time an organizational campaign is under way in preparation for a general strike of coffee workers throughout the country. Coffee is the principal export of Colombia.

Ecuador now comes to the fore with a general strike in the textile industry which commenced on September 29th and which is now 100 per cent solid. The textile strike has the unlimited backing of the whole organized labor movement of the republic and a general strike on a national scale is quite possible.

* * *

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS THREATENED WITH DEATH PENALTY

On May 1, 1933, the Bolivian government made the great "discovery" of a "communist plot destined to destroy the internal peace" (so necessary for the carrying on of the Chaco war) "subsidized by Paraguayan gold" In this manner "legal" means for repressions against our Bolivian comrades in La Paz were found! The few remaining comrades at that time still in the city on the point of organizing an anti-war protest demonstration for International Labor Day were placed under arrest.

From the very outset, the charges levelled against our comrades were evidently based on framed up evidence. It was claimed that they were attempting to buy off the General Staff of the Bolivian Army, conspiring in a small group, out of contact with the masses and "preparing bombs and hand grenades, some of which were found in their possession". Any one with the least understanding of the tactics and method of struggle used by communists can readily see how ridiculous these charges were.

Meanwhile, making it impossible for them to secure counsel, Duran Boger, Zubaleta, Uberoaga, Rodriguez, Rojas, Gallardo, Maraz, Moya Quiroga, Abaroa, Ozuna, Miranda, Cora and others were interned in the "inquisitorial section" of the public jail, in the section known as the "guanay" where prisoners are even denied the ordinary essential services of prison hygiene. All communication with the outside was forbidden as was any intervention of outside persons into the case. Their only recourse was the hunger strike, under the most disastrous circumstances and without any outside support. Comrade Abaroa died and the others became completely emaciated and broken in health. It was then that the prisoners were granted defense counsel and provided with beds and water.

Salamanca wants to "legitimitize" the policies of his regime through the blood of the Bolivian Communists. Fascism is organized in the shadow of the red scare and the ground is prepared for future massacres of the militant workers. The reality is that the weakness of our comrades at the present time serves the purposes of the bourgeoisie admirably.

The State Attorney is now demanding the death penalty against our imprisoned comrades, for the crime of organizing the anti-war struggle of the toiling masses aainst the Chaco slaughter.

The Bolivian comrades, beaten to the ground and crushed beneath the militarist boot, gagged under the Military Code, have no other possibility of defense than the international action of the militant workers of other countries. Only demonstrations and mass actions of the workers on an international scale can save them.

The Chilean Communist Left has called on all working class organizations to back up the international campaign for the defense and support of the workers of Bolivia and Paraguay against the imperialist war in the Chaco.

Stalinists in a Panic as Organization Of New Party in U. S. Approaches

The Central Committee of the Stalinist party is greatly worried. To be more exact, it is panic-stricken. Nothing else can explain the bombardment of frenzied abuse suddenly launched in the official communist press against the "Trotskyists" and the American Workers Party.

In the first place, the situation inside the Communist party makes it imperative for the leadership imposed upon it to distract attention from their disgraceful mismanagement. The widely heralded San Francisco general strike has turned to ashes in the mouth of the Stalinists. The complete ineffectiveness of the party in the textile strike—largest struggle in the history of the American working class—is too patent to be explained away, nor has the leadership yet made any attempt to do so. In four of the most dramatic struggles of recent times, in Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Kohler, the Communist party was as invisible as an infra-red ray. The strike it tried to call on the New York waterfront proved to be an unmitigated debacle. The whole trade union policy of the party is being drastically revised, without apparent rhyme or reason and certainly without explanation, and the much-vaunted "red" unions are being liquidated in the dark of the moon at a faster and more artificial pace than they were created in the first place. The results of the great post-convention membership drive are a downright catastrophe: 17,000 members joined the party in the first seven months of this year, at the end of which, however, the party has 4,000 fewer members than when the drive began; that is, **the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies have driven out of the party an average of 3,000 members per month in the first part of 1934.** In any normally functioning working class organization, a leadership which cannot produce a better accounting of its stewardship than this, would be driven out of its posts and perquisites without even the three days of grace usually accorded all bankrupts.

A Decadent Party

There are, besides, other phenomena which give the leadership sleepless nights, and cause the serious party member to stop for sober reflection. At one time, whatever revolutionary progress was visible in the American working class, crystallized around the Communist party. The Stalinized party, however, has lost its revolutionary force of attraction. A tempestuous leftward evolution of the ranks of the Socialist party is taking place, with thousands of Socialist workers and youth moving rapidly towards Marxism. But not only does this movement pass by the Stalinists, but it is directed against them. Where, a decade ago, it was felt clearly or instinctively by the awakening Socialist workers that their move to the left was logically in the direction of the Third International and its parties, they feel today that they would be stepping out of the frying pan and into the fire if they broke from reformism only to join hands with decadent Stalinism. They are therefore seeking or groping for a new rallying center.

This is even more plainly evident in the movement for a new party and a new International in the United States. We are on the eve of the consummation, in this country, of the most progressive step taken in the American working class movement for years. Coming though they did from different directions, the militants of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have thought and fought their way through, along different forks in the road to a unification which makes it possible for them to march with swelled forces along a single path and under a single banner. Joined together, the two organizations are now taking the last steps preparatory to the formal launching of the new party in the United States, the party of revolutionary Marxism.

Founded on Marxism

For the first time in many a year, a party will appear on the scene in this country which can boldly assert and prove its claim to be the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It will not be the issue of a bureaucratic combination, but a solid structure based upon a thoughtfully worked out program. This program will be found to contain those fundamental ideas of Marx and Lenin which guarantee the revolutionary integrity of the party and its driving force. These ideas will not be diluted or perverted, as they have been by the existing radical parties of labor, but reinforced by the lessons of the struggles, the victories and defeats, that the world proletariat has experienced in the last twenty years. From the very outset, therefore, the new party will be equipped with an invincible sword, and it will confidently challenge the existing parties for the leadership of the American working class.

Whatever doubts may have existed on this score have been banished by the prolonged howl of rage that has risen from the Stalinist camp as soon as it became clear that the launching of the new party was already assured. Just as the Roman emperors sought to turn the wrath of the masses from the cause of their hunger to the vicarious thrill of the gladiatorial combats in the lion's arena, the Stalinist proconsuls are trying to work up a veritable lynching campaign against the new party so that their own membership may forget for a day the cruel political existence to which they are condemned.

The Mind of a Bureaucrat

And what a contemptible campaign it is that the panic-stricken Stalinists have launched! The bureaucrat's mind is worthy of a definitive study. He cannot judge a political event politically. Having himself received his post and the not undesirable emoluments of office as bounty for subservience and booty from a plot of usurpers, he can conceive of a political movement directed against his ideas only as an insidious plot of other bureaucrats. Like man created his various gods, the bureaucrat creates all politicians and all politics in his own image. His policeman's mind, which qualifies him to office under Stalinism, cannot see beyond the horizon imposed upon him from above and imposed by him upon those over whom he holds sway in turn. Equipped with magistrate's powers and an ample stock of abuse, he sallies forth against the enemy. The more worried he is, the more abusive and less intelligible he becomes.

This is how the Stalinist bureaucracy has greeted the new party.

The leading editorial of the **Daily** Worker on the fifteenth anniversary of the Communist party (9-29-34) thus devoted itself to a solemn warning. To whom? To the—don't laugh!—honest but misguided rank and file counter-revolutionists and bourgeois nationalists in the two organizations which are preparing to fuse. "We must warn the workers who follow Muste and his A.W.P. against a trap that is being laid for them by their leaders—the trap of counter-revolutionary "Trotskyism." But that is not all. "To the few misguided workers who still follow the Trotskyists" (come, come, isn't it a bit indecent thus to dig up again the dead body of Trotskyism which has now been disinterred sixteen times—by actual count—in the columns of the Stalinist press?) an earnest word of advice is also proferred. Beware, for the counter-revolutionists, in turn, "are leading you into organic unity with Muste, the champion of bourgeois nationalism". Why, from the standpoint of the **Daily Worker,** there is anything reprehensible in the counter-revolutionists joining hands with the bourgeois nationalists, is not entirely clear. Nor will we press the point, for as Thomas Paine once said: "To argue with a man who has renounced the use and authority of reason is like administering medicine to the dead."

"Armyless Generals"

A few days later, the news writer of the **Daily Worker,** either ignorant of the startling editorial discovery of honest rank and file counter-revolutionists and bourgeois nationalists who make up the ranks of the C.L.A. and A.W.P., or else operating on the theory that your front page should not know what your back page is doing, reports from Paterson that the speakers at a silk workers' meeting there were "A. J. Muste, purveyor of Fascist (Oops!) doctrines" and James Cannon, "Trotskyist renegade", and that "textile worker after textile worker made clear his distrust of the two armyless generals of social fascism".

Now, if no armies are involved, what is all the disturbance for? In its letter to the young Socialists explaining why it is opposed to including the young Trotskyists in the united front, the Stalinist youth organization declares that the Trotskyists have no masses and therefore **should not** be included in the united front. If the Trotskyists and Musteites are armyless, why the plaintive wail of the **Daily Worker** against the latter for having rejected a united front with the Communist party?

It becomes increasingly clear that abuse and foam at the mouth are not exactly conducive to clarity. At any rate, we may be permitted to doubt the effectiveness of such appeals made by the Stalinists to the honest scoundrels and rogues of the rank and file.

Not satisfied, however, with digging up the body of Trotskyism, the Stalinists have exhumed the corpse of Alexander Bittelman and brought it into play against the new party. Asking Bittelman to lead the campaign is like calling the members of the Grand Army of the Republic to the colors for a war in 1935. Bittelman, it was generally thought (by some, with a feeling of relief), had been permanently silenced after the Stalinists exiled him to the Kirghis Soviet Republic in 1929 for having labored too effectively to wreck the American Communist party. He is making up for that silence now.

In the **Daily Worker** of October 17, Bittelman explodes a "bombshell" called—"Does the American Workers Party Know With 'What' It Is Uniting?" The title perfectly expresses his deep and tender concern over the fate of the party of bourgeois nationalism. Addressing himself to the little infants of the A.W.P., he conjures up before them the dread image of the Trotskyist bogeyman who will get them if they don't watch out. We know that none of our readers will believe us, but good eyesight and simple truth compel us to report that what Bittelman is so terribly exercized about, and is trying to exercize his readers about, is the lack of democracy in the ranks of the Trotskyists and a malevolent plan by "Cannon-Shachtman and Co." to trick the honest rank and file vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the honest rank and file vanguard of bourgeois nationalism into joining whatever the latest Stalinist thesis calls the Socialist party the vanguard of.

Burglary Again

Proof? Ah, this time Bittelman has ample proof. His second-story men and pickpockets did their last job some six years ago when they and stole our documents and postage stamps. They have now done another bit of revolutionary mass work. A few letters exchanged between League members were stolen by some light-fingered expert of the C. P., thus affording Bittelman the opportunity to quote some torn-out sentences from them in a breath-taking Hearstian exposure guaranteed to impress anybody below the mental age of seven. In stirring, lucid prose, the Trotskyists are convicted of planning to enter the Socialist party for the purpose of reforming the Second International, and of having, meanwhile, abolished all traces of internal democracy.

Let us see how matters stand.

1. The French section of the International Communist League has entered as a faction, with its own program and paper, into the French Socialist party, for reasons clearly set out in the columns of the **Militant** and the **New International.** Even in France, however, despite the unique situation that has necessitated this step, our comrades have not put forward the slogan of "reform of the Second International" Just the contrary. As is known to our readers who saw a translation of it, the leading political article in the first number of the paper issued by our comrades after entering the S. P., contained a vigorous polemic against the idea of "reforming the Second" and in favor of the Fourth International.

2. As Bittelman, and anyone else concerned, are perfectly aware, our international organization, and our official organ in the United States, have pointed out explicitly that the road our French comrades were obliged to take, is not the road which the American situation requires us to take. In the United States, a far more favorable condition exists and makes it possible and necessary for the revolutionary Marxists to proceed immediately to launch their own independent political party. No serious person would even think of making the proposal in our ranks that the C.L.A. should join the American Socialist party. Such a proposal would be met with the stiff opposition of 99.44 percent of the membership, from bottom to top.

Bittelman's Lies

3. "It is a fact," writes Bittelman, "that Cannon peddles around the idea of the 'reform of the Second International'." What Bittelman calls a fact is properly called in comrade Spector's letter "wholly unintelligible"; to be more accurate, this "fact" is a stupid lie manufactured out of the whole cloth. An equally stupid lie is the story that the New York membership "voted against a proposal for entry into the Y.P.S.L.". The membership never voted for it and never voted against it, for the simple reason that no such proposal was ever put before the membership.

4. Bittelman sheds tears over the lack of democracy in the C.L.A. as copiously and genuinely as a Hollywood actress. In general, it must take a monumental effrontery and a forehead triple-sheathed in brass for Stalinist functionaries even to talk about party democracy, after the world-wide trail of devastation they have left in the working class movement in the last ten years with their scourge of bureaucratism.

Bittelman reads a number of letters dealing with internal affairs of our League, but they are as incomprehensible, simply and literally as incomprehensible to him as though he were examining the cuneiform script on the Rosetta stone. It is physiologically impossible for the mind of the Stalinist official to grasp what such letters represent.

The "monolithic" unanimity prevailing in the Stalinist party is considered by its leaders as the normal state of a working class organization. It is a unanimity violently imposed from above, rigidly enforced by bureaucratic machinations which strangle the party and deteriorate all who breathe its poisoned atmosphere. The Stalinist official has reached a point where it is simply inconceivable to him that any member shall have the right (or the temerity!) to express a view conflicting with the one that has the sacro-sanction of the day. That among the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" there should be comrades, in the ranks and in the leading committees, who not only have differing views, or sharp criticisms to make, but who also feel themselves free to write them down on paper without fear that a bureaucratic axe will promptly descend upon their neck—that represents the kind of a normal world from which Bittelman and Co. have so long ago departed that it strikes them as unreal.

A Startling "Discovery"

We have disputes and differing views in our ranks! That's Bittelman's self-startling discovery. We say: thank god we have! So has every organization with two men in it, even the Stalinist party. The difference between us and the C.P. is that: In the C.L.A. these differences are freely put forward, developed, mutually criticized, discussed without fear of rude and disloyal punishments. Consequently a healthy and sound decision is arrived at. In the C.P., differences exist, but woe betide him who has differences with Stalin and his direct representative, Browder, who is responsible to and removable by nobody but the man who appointed him! Who knows this better than Bittelman himself? For what "deviation from the party line" was he compelled to do penance in Russian exile, deliberately removed from participation in the life and work in his own party? For what crime of lese majeste against Browder, to take another of many, many examples, was Weinstone kicked out of the party's political center and packed off to Detroit as district organizer—sent "to pick peaches in Georgia" as the cynical expression of American politics would put it? Why are the once members of the almighty Political Bureau—Minor, Hathaway, Foster, Bedacht — no longer members of it?

And in the course of the reply we await from him, will Bittelman further enlighten us as to why the party's secret service is used not only to ferret out spies, but also to hunt down members whose revolutionary integrity is above question but who are suspected of meeting secretly with other comrades in a "faction"? Why is it that party members **and party "leaders"** who are dissatisfied with the Browder regime, are compelled to confine their views to inaudible whispers behind private walls and windows with shades pulled to the bottom—that is, when they dare even to whisper.

Why does the **Daily Worker** continue to pour sulphur and brimstone on the Lovestoneites, while the party leadership meets secretly, without the knowledge of the membership, with representatives of the Lovestone group to discuss a very highly "principled" (no doubt! no doubt!) reunion?

One could go on endlessly with a wearisome piling up of facts, too well known to all, about the democracy that flourishes in the C.P. nowadays. But this will do for the moment, especially when contrasted with the procedure in the C.L.A.

Negotiations in Open

Our negotiations with the comrades representing the A.W.P. have not only been public (even to readers of the **Militant**) from the very beginning, but have been the subject of an extensive and intensive discussion in our ranks which has produced that firmness on the question which prevails throughout the League today. (Were Bittelman able to witness the warm, vigorous and intensive ideological and political internal life of our League, in contrast with the tomb-like "calm" and listlessness of the C.P. units about which the Stalinists themselves complain with some bewilderment, he would undoubtedly be shocked into an even greater incoherence than was produced in him by the purloined letters!) Our communications to the A.W.P., their replies, our mutual criticisms—all appeared in the columns of our press, where the working class public could read them and know what is going on. The views of our National Committee in favor of the speediest possible merger with the A.W.P. to found a new party on the principles of revolutionary Marxism, were communicated in detail to every single branch, many months ago, in the course of a tour by a N.C. representative who met with every comrade, who put forward the position of the leading committee, who invited and received the broadest discussion, and who ended up with the reminder that no comrade was called upon to commit himself as yet by vote on the fundamental question until he had had the greatest opportunity to reflect on the matter and to study all the documents involved. In our main branch, New York, direct oral reports on each step in the progress of the negotiations and discussions with the A.W.P. were periodically delivered by the National Committee, with every member having ample opportunity to present his view more than once. In addition, a complete thesis giving our fundamental view in favor of the immediate launching of a new, independent revolutionary party in agreement with the A.W.P., was sent to every member for the pre-convention period, and it has been the subject of thorough discussion in our ranks since that time. Our convention will finally express the freely-arrived at decision of the membership, which elects its own delegates, Mr. Bittelman, for we have no Browder **to appoint all the delegates** as he did for the late, unlamented Cleveland convention of the C.P.

Bittelman is right on one point. It is these democratic methods that we shall "seek to install" in the new party. Bittelman, who has long ago lost the right, the ability, and finally the desire, to express an independent opinion in his party, and is consequently completely dumbfounded to see one expressed elsewhere, is entitled to the kind of regime that prevails in his organization. Without envy or reservations, we grant it to him freely—all of it. We grant it to him even though the gift is not ours to present, because few men ever deserved it more richly.

* * *

Meanwhile, it is not fair to allow the Stalinists to nurture illusions which will produce nothing but disappointment. Their panic-stricken appeals to the "honest rank and file" of the two organizations are meeting with the ridicule they merit. They are not dealing with little infants who are easily frightened by bogeymen, or with deluded serfs. In both organizations, they are confronted with serious revolutionary workers, who have not jumped quickly at conclusions, but who have reflected earnestly and long and with open eyes and minds. If it is traps they are to avoid, they know that the traps are the ones represented by social reformism on one side and Stalinism on the other, traps in which the mangled bodies of the Chinese, German, Austrian and other workers have already been caught. They are ready to break with the Great Organizers of Defeats. Confident and sure-footed, armed with the invincible weapons of revolutionary Marxism, they are determined to build in this country the Great Organizer of Victory.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The regular October number of **Young Spartacus** is on the press. It will include the major draft resolutions for the national convention of the S.Y.L., articles on the current events here and abroad, a summary of the latest developments in the world youth movement (France, Spain, Belgium), articles on the Y.P.S.L. reprinted from the special **New York issue** as well as light educational features.

9 Negro Boys Need United Movement

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Which does not solve the major problems confronting every enemy of lynching. Here is a case which has widespread sympathy, and nowhere in the country, not even in Northern cities where there are large blocks of discontented Negro workers, are there organized masses ready to go into action on behalf of the victims marked out by Judge Lynch.

Last week the **Militant** suggested that only a new and broader defense movement could save the boys after the vicious blows dealt it by the I.L.D.'s erstwhile hero, Mr. Leibowitz.

There are a number of interesting aspects to this offer. In the first place, it comes not from the I.L.D. to the S.P., but from a local committee of one to a local committee of the other. This does not mean that the Stalinists are reverting for the moment to last year's theory of the "honest middle functionaries" of the "social-fascist" party? No. It merely means that they hope to use the S.P. in New York to stage a couple of big demonstrations without submitting to anybody else's examination or control the general conduct of the case now in the hands of the I.L.D.'s **national** office.

Another point of interests is that the I.L.D. does not issue a **general call** for a united front. In the old days it used to splash such a call in the **Daily Worker** and append to it a lot of acceptances from the W.I.R., Icor and whatnot. Now it simply sends a letter to the S.P. It wants an I.L.D.-S.P. united front, and nobody else allowed.

The reason is clear. More than in any other field at present, the I.L.D. does not want to face the Communist League. We alone, of all workers' organizations, called the turn on Leibowitz eighteen months before he showed his hand in all frankness; we alone criticized the I.L.D. for its smug association with this scoundrel. Little wonder that the I.L.D. wants a closed corporation for the Scottsboro defense!

If the I.L.D. is really serious, it will give up such monkeyshines, make room in the defense movement for every interested organization, share the control of the case through a joint committee, and make possible a real mass campaign for the Scottsboro boys. The C.L.A. will back such a movement to the limit.

Industrial Union Move Checked by Right Wing

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form, the antiqated and outlived craft issues. In its direct sense this dispute represents the squabble of the officials for control of spoils. But beneath it is the more fundamental question of a movement as a whole getting into motion with the workers in this one section, who are hard hit by the protracted slump in the industry, pressing for a way out. The officials know no other way than the protection of craft interests, of one craft against another which they intensify as the pressure increases. The bricklayers, carpenters and electrical workers unions have for some time been outside of the Building Trades Department. They now insisted on remittance, but met the opposition from officials of the other building trades unions who hoped thereby the better to control award of jurisdictional claims for their specific crafts to certain kind of work which has been changed by new industrial processes.

Parenthetically it may be remarked, that if and when any degree of recovery in the industry by a resumption of building should appear, it is certain to be under new and much further improved technical processes which will perhaps altogether wipe out the old craft basis and impose much more acutely the need for a change of union organization form also in this industry.

It is on this general background only of changes and regroupments that one can understand the divided positions of an ideologically united officialdom. John L. Lewis, the outright reactionary who made it his main task some time ago to drive out of the mining industry a couple of hundred thousand of coal miners for whom no jobs were available, who has lived high on enormous bribes paid by the operators for his keeping one section of miners at work while other sections were on strike, became the most ardent sponsor and spokesman for the industrial union move. Closely allied with him on this question was Howard, the president of the Typographical union, who has many times proved himself a most bitter foe of industrial unionism in the printing industry. Essentially, however, the adoption of the proposition is due to rank and file pressure. The new unions in the mass production industries have made this demand in no uncertain terms. Some progressive concessions had to be given to the growing working class militancy lest it would seek its own way out. But it should not be overlooked that many A. F. of L. officials favored the industrial union proposition in the hope that this would provide a better basis for peaceful relations, less strikes and more satisfactory bargaining possibilities of give-and-take when facing the powerful owners of the mass production industries.

Rogues Gallery of "Progressives"

Following upon the adoption of the industrial union resolution came the decision to enlarge the Executive Council from its former thirteen members to eighteen. John L. Lewis, who had thundered from the platform that the industrial union question "had to do with the destiny and future success of the American labor movement" also sponsored the council measure. He insisted that the proposed change would signify a more militant organization policy and found support from Daniel Tobin, the head of the teamsters union, who had previously castigated the hundreds of thousands of new recruits in the A. F. of L. as "rubbish", and who condones a system in his union of officials putting through their elections for life. Tobin's reactionary attack upon the Minneapolis strike, upon the organization of local 574 and its leadership, is too well known to **Militant** readers to require any further comment.

William Hutcheson, the president of the carpenters union, who could never be expected to agree to anything that would look like a more militant organization policy, supported this proposal of Lewis, apparently for the reason that the rival officials in control of the Building Trades Department opposed it. It may be a good guess that the same reason was responsible for Hutcheson's support of resolution number 141. This resolution, which was adopted despite the organization committee's report of non-concurrence, calls for the expulsion of unions which do not comply with the demand for discontinuance of all discrimination against Negroes.

Adding Pitch to Black

Looking over the new additions to the Executive Council, which include Lewis, Hutcheson, Tobin and Berry of the Pressmens Union, any illusions of a more militant organization policy emanating from this enlarged hierarchy should soon disappear. Every step in organization, the actual penetration of the mass production industries as well as the militant strikes, have all come into motion by the sweep of the rank and file workers recognizing the need for organization, ready to fight for it and literally tearing down all the barriers and obstacles put in their road by these reactionaries.

In the debate on the council enlargement measure none of the sponsors were the least backward about holding up the threat of a rebellious rank and file. That was the crux of all of the serious problems before the convention. The reluctant forward moves agreed to by the official family was entirely due to fears of this threat. The rank and file now in motion is miles ahead of their leaders who will take small steps and only by compulsion, sabotaging, cheating and betraying on the way. This rank and file in motion is the hope for the future. Powerful has been its effects already without any, or at least with very little and very scattered conscious direction and without a nationally organized left wing or progressive group. To create such a direction and to build such a group is now the most important task.

—ARNE SWABECK.

The Basis of the "Youth Problem"

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ing class, it has not a policy of its own, a special economy, etc., which would demand a formation of special youth organizations corresponding to the respective organizations of the whole class. To bring one section of the class in so sharp a contrast to the other, would be a peculiar syndicalism. The youth movement need not look for a parrallel in all the adult labor organizations. The young communist leagues are by no means young communist parties. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS A SPECIAL FORM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, a school of communism, where the young proletariat is educated with the idea of being able to understand and PARTICIPATE IN ALL THE OTHER FORMS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. In this work the Young Communist League takes care to emphasize what are the tasks of the other forms of the labor movement which are nearest to, and most readily understood by the youth.

"For this reason the Young Communist League has taken up political and educational work as also the economic struggle. It participates in the activities of the parties and trade unions, Soviets and other labor organizations. This is what the militant school of communism stands for, what the young communist movement stands for."

The youth organization must be broad enough to draw into its ranks wide masses of young workers. One need not be a communist in order to become a member of a young communist organization. It is only necessary to accept the class struggle. To construct the theory that the youth organization is a highly political organization, necessitating the creation of "broad youth clubs" (as some comrades in the United States wish to do) is to misunderstand the youth question, and leads directly to the tendency toward creating a "youth party". In reality there is no need to create special "Marxian Educational Clubs", as a bridge to the young communist organization. At best the separation is artificial; at its worst, it creates a decidedly false conception of the character of the youth organization. The youth organization is a BROAD one; it is a TRAINING GROUND! But while broad in the sense herein described, it is not a loose, amorphous body open to consciously hostile political elements among the youth. It must be so constructed as to permit in its ranks all types of working youth, making possible to train them for the Party. In this way the youth organization constantly supplies reserves for the Party.

Stretch-Out Okayed

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Sept. 21—there is no cause for great rejoicing. This order must be enforced, which means if the employers are willing there will be no further speed-up and if not—an investigation.

But our guess is that even George ("twist-the-facts") Sloan will not raise too much of a howl at this "order". The great surplus of textile goods in the stockrooms and warehouses will tend to make the mill owners favorably inclined to the order and the workers will not be "stretched-out" completely.

On February 1, 1935, when the order expires, the stocks-on-hand will probably be exhausted and the bosses will need a new order of stretch-out and speed-up. On this date the Board will "develop a sound method and adequate organization for work assignments. . . ."

If we can judge by present standards "sound methods" to any Roosevelt Board means the highest rate of profit for the bosses which in turn entails the greatest slavery for the workers.

The speed-up—if it depends on the bosses and their friend in the White House—is not coming to an end, but just beginning.